21: Kolarz J-4 (no date) 1952 R1 Soviet Union
Estonians R64

quite a number of prominent left-wing intellectuals to whom Moscow had surrendered the leading governmental posts in the country, in the absence of genuine die-hard communists. Thus the well-known Estonian historian, Hans Kruus, was at first Deputy Prime Minister of Soviet Estonia, and later Foreign Minister. The poet, Johannes Semper, was Soviet Estonia's first Minister of Education. The writer and poet, Johannes Barbarus (Vares), was President of Soviet Estonia until his death in 1947.

All these and other leading officials of the Estonian S.S.R. used to be people of considerable standing in 'bourgeois Estonia'. They were both pro-Russian and pro-Communist, but they were also imbued with Estonian national traditions. They had all been reared in the spirit of the literary movement 'Young Estonia' (Noor Eesti), which had been both progressive and cosmopolitan in character. Its principal slogan used to be: 'More culture, more European culture. Be Estonians, but be Europeans as well'.[34] Estonian literature had been much more influenced by Western writers and poets than by Russian ones. To be cut off from Western contacts was therefore an unbearable thought to intellectual communists such as Johannes Semper, who had translated into Estonian the works of Victor Hugo, Emile Zola and Verhaeren.

Another tradition dear to all Estonians is that connected with the National Song Festival the first of which was held in 1869 and was the first great manifestation of Estonian nationhood. Even many Estonian communists thought that the festival, which was celebrated both under the Czarist régime and in the independent Estonian Republic, ought to be preserved as an expression of the artistic genius of the Estonian people. The Twelfth Estonian Song Festival of 1947, the first to be held in Soviet Estonia, was organized by people whom one could with some exaggeration describe as national Estonian communists. Under their leadership the festival made ideological concessions to the Soviet régime, but it was at least Estonian in form. Russian songs and Russian choirs had been kept out of it.

The central authorities of the U.S.S.R. could not in the long run tolerate this attitude of the Estonian intellectual *élite*, its attempt to reconcile communism with friendliness towards Western European culture. As soon as the situation was ripe, the régime had to strike its blow against the recalcitrant Estonian communists and establish total ideological uniformity in Estonia. In the spring of 1950, on the eve of a new Song Festival, the régime considered that the moment was appropriate for a big shake up. The men who in June, 1940, had lent themselves so willingly as tools of the Soviet régime were removed from their posts. The same fate was meted out even to all the Moscow-trained Estonian communists who had not given proof of sufficient vigilance in the discovery of nationalist trends in the Estonian S.S.R.